

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 061703Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1332  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2754

EXDIS

FOR NIMETZ FROM LEDSKY

E.O. 11652: XGDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR, AU  
SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY US-UK ASSESSMENT OF CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS  
IN VIENNA

1. THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS HAS BEEN PREPARED JOINTLY BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM "OBSERVERS" IN VIENNA. IT SHOULD BE READ AS AN INITIAL EFFORT, WRITTEN BEFORE THE TALKS WERE CONCLUDED AND IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF GROWING PESSIMISM GENERATED BY GREEK CYPRIOTS AND THE UN OFFICIALDOM IN VIENNA. IT HAS ALSO BEEN WRITTEN WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF HAVING HAD DIRECT ACCESS TO THE INDIVIDUAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS OR THE OFFICIAL RECORDS PREPARED ON THEM.

2. THE CURRENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS HAS BEEN VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE FIVE PRECEDING ROUNDS. THE TALKS HAVE LASTED MORE THAN TWICE AS LONG AS PREVIOUS ROUNDS (SEVEN DAYS AS OPPOSED TO THE USUAL THREE). THEY HAVE CONSISTED OF MORE THAN

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A DOZEN INDIVIDUAL SESSIONS, AT WHICH DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN CLEARLY DIRECTED AND FOCUSSED AT THE CRUCIAL ISSUES THAT MUST BE RESOLVED AS PART OF ANY CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. ALSO UNIQUE TO THIS ROUND HAS BEEN THE FACT THAT THE NEGOTIATORS ARRIVED WITH A SET OF AGREED GUIDELINES PREVIOUSLY DEVELOPED IN NICOSIA BETWEEN MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH. THE GUIDELINES WERE USED AS A CRUTCH BY

UN OFFICIALS, WHO SEEMED OVERLY FOND OF INDIVIDUAL POINTS IN THEM BUT, IN GENERAL, THE GUIDELINES PROVED TOO VAGUE TO HELP STEER DISCUSSIONS IN USEFUL DIRECTIONS.

3. THE CURRENT ROUND IN VIENNA MARKED THE FIRST TIME ALSO THAT CONCRETE FORMAL PROPOSALS WERE POUT ON THE TABLE BY THE PARTICIPANTS COVERING CENTRAL NEGOTIATING ISSUES. THE GREEK CYPRIOT PROPOSAL ON TERRITORY AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSAL ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS REFLECTED CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT AND PRIOR PREPARATION. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS BROUGHT BRIEFCASES OF PAPERS TO VIENNA WITH BACKUP DOCUMENTATION AND MAPS. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS MADE LESS OF AN EFFORT, BUT DID SEEK TO DEVELOP AND PRESENT A NEW GOVERNMENTAL CONCEPT IN WHICH THE TURKS MIGHT HAVE MAXIMUM AUTONOMY AND SECURITY AND YET KEEP THE DOOR OPEN FOR FUTURE INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. THE TWO PROPOSALS, ALTHOUGH EACH OFFERED ONLY MINIMAL CONCESSIONS TO THE OTHER, SEEMED DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A POINT OF DEPARTURE AND A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

4. DISCUSSION OF THE TWO PROPOSALS IN VIENNA, ALTHOUGH UNEVEN IN CHARACTER, WAS EXTENSIVE BY THE STANDARDS OF PAST NEGOTIATING ROUNDS. SOME FOUR DAYS OF MEETINGS WERE DEVOTED TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT MAP AND TURKISH CYPRIOT CONSTITUTIONAL IDEAS. ALTHOUGH EACH SIDE HAS COMPLAINED ABOUT THE OTHER'S PROPOSAL, IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS REPLIED TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION AND  
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THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, AFTER SOME INITIAL HESITATION, DID EXPLAIN WHAT WAS WRONG WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOT MAP AND WHAT THE BASIC TURKISH-CYPRIOT TERRITORIAL REQUIREMENTS ARE. THE TWO SIDES WILL LEAVE VIENNA WITH A GOOD IDEA OF HOW TO PROCEED TO NEGOTIATE A TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT AND WHAT IS REQUIRED TO BRIDGE THE BASIC CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL AREA. IT IS ALSO EVIDENT THAT THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES -- TERRITORY AND CONSTITUTIONALITY -- HAVE NOW BEEN LINKED IN SUCH A WAY THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION AND PROGRESS ON ONE IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT FURTHER DISCUSSION AND PROGRESS ON THE OTHER.

5. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY FROM HERE WHETHER THESE NEW AND CLEARER PERCEPTIONS BY THE TWO SIDES WILL LEAD TO FURTHER ROUNDS OF MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THE GREEK

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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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CYPRIOIS MAY CONCLUDE THAT THE TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL PILL THAT MUST BE SWALLOWED IS TOO BIG AND TOO BITTER. MOREOVER, THE GREEK CYPRIOIS ARE UNLIKELY TO SURRENDER THEIR TRUMP CARD -- INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION -- UNLESS THEY RECEIVE AN ASSURANCE THAT THEY WILL RECOVER SUBSTANTIAL TERRITORY WHICH THE TURKISH CYPRIOIS NOW HOLD. THE TURKISH CYPRIOIS, FOR THEIR PART, MAY CONCLUDE THAT FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WILL ENTRAP THEM IN A SITUATION IN WHICH THEY WILL BE FORCED TO ACCEPT MUCH LESS THAN THEY NOW HAVE AND THINK THEY NEED. THE TURKISH CYPRIOIS WILL CLEARLY BE UNWILLING TO SURRENDER TERRITORY IN THE ABSENCE OF A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT WHICH GUARANTEES THEIR SECURITY.

6. IF THE TWO CYPRIOIS COMMUNITIES DO DECIDE TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT ROUND IN VIENNA HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY SUCCESSFUL TO ENABLE THEM TO BUILD ON THE RECORD ESTABLISHED HERE, AND BEGIN TO NARROW THE WIDE DIFFERENCES WHICH REMAIN ON  
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THE TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS. THIS PROCESS WILL CLEARLY TAKE TIME, BUT TALKS COULD BEGIN

AGAIN IN NICOSIA AND BE CONTINUED AS UN OFFICIALS WANT, TWO OR THREE DAYS A WEEK THROUGH THE TURKISH ELECTROAL PERIOD IN JUNE.

7. IT IS IN THE WESTERN INTEREST TO PERSUADE THE PARTIES TO ENGAGE IN THIS KIND OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND FOR EACH TO MAKE SUFFICIENT CONCESSIONS SO THAT PROGRESS IS REGISTERED IN NICOSIA. THE MOST EFFECTIVE CONTINUING PRESSURE POINT ON TURKEY IS ITS DESIRE TO STABILIZE AND RE-ESTABLISH A CLOSE DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST. THE CHIEF MEANS OF PRESSURE ON THE GREEK CYPRIOTS IS TO PERSUADE THEM THAT OUTSIDE SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE WILL WANE UNLESS THERE IS PROGRESS, AND TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS THAT PROGRESS IN CYPRUS MUST NOT BE, AND NEED NOT BE, DEPENDENT ON PROGRESS IN THE AEGEAN. MORE POSITIVELY, OUTSIDE PARTIES COULD LAY CONSIDERABLE STRESS ON THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS AVAILABLE TO BOTH COMMUNITIES IN THE EVENT OF A SETTLEMENT.

8. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF GREECE AND TURKEY COULD BE PERSUADED TO TAKE A MORE DIRECT PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEIR INVOLVEMENT WOULD CLEARLY BE HELPFUL IN THE KIND OF SENSITIVE GIVE AND TAKE ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED IN THE FUTURE. BUT TURKISH PARTICIPATION IS LIKELY TO BE DEPENDENT UPON OBTAINING A SIMILAR COMMITMENT FROM GREECE, WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN RELUCTANT TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF TOO CLOSELY WITH REQUIRED GREEK-CYPRIOT CONCESSIONS.

9. WE CONCLUDE THEREFORE THAT, ASSUMING THAT THE PARTIES AGREE TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATING IN NICOSIA, THE MOST EFFECTIVE ROLE FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WILL BE TO CONTINUE TO SHOW THEIR CLOSE INTEREST IN A SETTLEMENT,  
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AND TO IMPRESS ON THE PARTIES THEIR OWN INTEREST IN PROMOTING ONE. THIS IS LIKELY TO HELP SIGNIFICANTLY TOWARDS CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS, HOWEVER TORTUOUS THEY MAY BE.

10. THE BEST FORUM FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS IS PROBABLY THE PRESENT CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE UN. BUT DR. WALDHEIM'S CLOSE INVOLVEMENT IN EACH ROUND OF TALKS HAS NO PARTICULAR ADVANTAGE, SINCE HE CANNOT DEVOTE SUFFICIENT TIME TO THE DETAILS OF DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN ROUNDS OF TALKS, AND HE IS UNDERSTANDABLY UNWILLING TO ENGAGE HIS PRESTIGE IN A LONG SERIES OF NEGOTIATIONS WHICH MAKE LITTLE DISCERNIBLE PROGRESS. WE CONCLUDE THEREFORE THAT THE ACTIVE ROLE OF AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR SHOULD

BE ENCOURAGED, AND THAT IF POSSIBLE HE SHOULD PRESIDE  
OVER WHATEVER FUTURE INTENSIVE AND CONTINUOUS  
NEGOTIATIONS ARE ARRANGED.MEEHAN

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## Message Attributes

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